THE MADRAS REVIEW

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15 JUN 1921

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

The Madras Review, which stood suspended for some weeks, reappears in a new body. We thank our subscribers for the goodwill with which they tolerated our lapse.

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The All—India Congress Committee has adopted the suggestions of Mr. Gandhi to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj fund, to enrol one crore of members on the Congress register and to introduce the spinning wheel in twenty lacs of homes before June, 30. While we are unwilling to discuss whether the carrying out of these suggestions will automatically bring Swaraj to India, we recognise that the educative work involved in them will be of enormous value to the country. The introduction of the spinning wheel in such large numbers must considerably strengthen the cause of Swadeshi. We therefore, give our wholehearted support to the resolutions of the Congress Executive and call upon every son and daughter of India to take up the work in right earnest.

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To those good people who are lost in deductions and anticipations as to what the new Viceroy will do, we offer our sympathy. The Non-Co-operation movement was started, we believe, because the just claims of the Indian people on many matters were not conceded. If those claims are just, nothing should deflect them from the course they have chalked out for themselves. Men support and stand by a principle because that principle is inherently good and just and not because the man who is opposed to it is a bad man. If the Non-Co-operation movement is based on right and justice, why should anybody abandon it until that right is established and that justice is vindicated? Earl Reading may be a good man. His Lordship's intentions also may be good. But he is in possession of all the facts and he must be aware of the demands of the Indian people. If those demands are conceded, the Non-co-operation movement will suspend of its own accord. Our own attitude towards the new Viceroy is neither one of presumption in his favour nor of prejudice against him, Let us judge him by his concrete achievements.

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The Madras Legislative Council has thrust a resolution on the womanhood of this Presidency recommending the removal of sex disqualification in the matter of political votes. In accordance with the prevailing fashion in the country, which requires that a modern politician must *ipso facto* be an advocate of the women's rights, several members of the Council spoke in support of it and thus the resolution was passed. Beyond the enterprise of a few educated and highly placed ladies, we have never been able to perceive any desire on the part of women in this Presidency to take part in political matters. We can imagine several Indian ladies bursting out into laughter at the interpredity of some of their own sex as well as at the wholly artificial manner in which their feelings were represented. We are not against women franchise but we feel that the time is not yet, because even many men are unable to make an intelligent use of their votes. Further, the local Council is only a partially representative body as many leading men kept aloof from it on account of Non-Co-operation and the discussion of this subject might have been postponed to a later date.

The following observations of Mr. Frederick Harrison are noteworthy. "Are women, now that they have equal votes, doing anything to check the sacrifice of family, the degradation of marriage? They now struggle to be BA's, to deluge the press with short stories, to thrust men form the clerks' room. The true task of woman is to moralize and spiritualize the world of man to bear, train and humanize the coming generation. Is not that task sacred enough for the vainest girl?"

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It was Macaulay who stated that a lawyer is one who " not merely believing but knowing a statement to be true, he should do all that can be done by sophistry, by rhetoric, by solemn asseveration, by indignant exclamation, by gesture, by play of features, by terrifying one honest witness, by perplexing another, to cause a jury to think that statement false " We are not in a position to say whether lawyers in India answer to this description. But the claim of Mr. C. P. Ramasami Aiyer at the All-India Lawyer's Conference that " the

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very magnitude of our achievements and even our versatality have provoked jealousy and organised opposition" is very much exaggerated. If lawyers have done much for India, non-lawyers have done much more. Some of the most honoured men in Indian politics were either non-lawyers or lawyers who renounced their profession *viz.*, Dadabhai, Tilak, Gokhale, Gandhi, Wacha, Banerji and G. Subramaniayer. To talk of jealousy is therefore absurd.

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As had been widely anticipated, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has been nominated to represent the Indian Government—not the Indian people—at the Imperial Conference. As long as the power of selecting a man rests with the Viceroy, it is the Sinhas and Sastris that will have the day. If to distrust the capacity of one's own countrymen for complete freedom, if to possess a nice manner of laughing unashamedly in the face of insults and taunts by the beauracracy constitute statesmanship, Mr. Sastri is a statesman. India requires at this hour, not many such statesman, but patriots who will pursue, unyielding and unresting, the great aims of the Democratic Congress. There would not be one man in every ten thousand in this country who will agree with the moderate political cant of Mr. Sastri but he is seriously put forward as India's representative! What cannot be cured must be endured as long as the present system of Government continues in this country.

LORD CHELMSFORD'S VICEROYALTY.

Lord Chelmsford laid down his office of Viceroy of India on April, 2. In attempting to pass a verdict on his administration, two things must be borne in mind. Firstly, the power of a Viceroy is restricted by conventions and statutes that he is not an absolute master like Wolsey in the days of his glory. The Secretary of State on the one hand and the beauracray in India on the other exercise checks and counterchecks that it is often very difficult to say whose influence predominates in the administration. Secondly, the margin between a good Viceroy and a bad one is very narrow because people in India have the habit of judging of a Viceroy not by what he has definitely done but by what he has not done, not whether he has delivered one thousand brilliant speeches but whether in the one hundred that he made he was polite and sympathetic in his references to India. Such has always been India's test, such was the test which India applied to Ripon and Hardinge and adjudged them to be great. If any one were to analyse what were the definite achievements of Lord Hardinge in India, nothing important will be found. He initiated the Defence of India Act and set the bad example of interning the Ali Brothers. But his lordship's virtue consisted in the open-hearted way in which he strove to do good to this country. Apart from these two considerations, there is the difficulty of applying one uniform test for all because the situation in India is never uniform. The political atmosphere may be like a mild breeze during the regime of one Viceroy but it may develop into a veritable cyclone during another's. We have stated all these facts in fairness to Lord Chelmsford and with a view to disarm criticism that we have overlooked these considerations in our estimate of his administration. We have neither the space nor the inclination to enumerate a catalogue of the acts of commission and omission of the departing Governor-General. Two most outstanding events during his period have been acknowledged to be the Punjab episode and the Reform Act. We shall briefly examine the part played by Lord Chelmsford in relation to both.

Although the power of a Viceroy is limited by constitution, he can do very much by his personal example. In delivering speeches, in defining the intention and policy of the Government, or in addressing Indians on various occasions, the Viceroy can enunciate noble principles of statecraft and infuse a spirit of justice and sympathy into all the officials under him. This may not carry India far but it will check the frequent and mad inroads on our liberty by the beauracrats in power. The real fact about Lord Chelmsford is that the bureaucrats acted more on him than he on them. He never saw what was right and so did not pursue it. It was his lordship's weakness which encouraged that contemptible gang of O'Dwyers, Dyers and Johnsons to play havoc in the Punjab. And when the excesses of those criminals were published and when the whole world was ringing with cries of denunciation, Lord Chelmsford was still shielding them and thereby became an abetter of those atrocious crimes. In the matter of the Reform Act, he presented the picture of a man who was being unwillingly dragged by a more powerful colleague. The various despatches of the Government of India on Reforms only show that Lord Chelmsford was unwilling to go as far as Mr. Montagu wished him to follow. At any rate, he has created in the minds of Indians the impression that he acquiesced in the change because he had to. After beginning his career in India with the promise that he will maintain the policy of his predecessor, he immediately attempted to suppress the Home Rule movement. He did not succeed. Not profitting

by past experience, he left India still having faith in the efficacy of repression as witness the Government of India's circular dated 28th January last.

After recognising the difficulties of his position and the circumstances which he had to face, we have no hesitation in affirming that his administration was an unqualified failure. We do not blame Lord Chelmsford for not having done great things in India but for having done bad things and for failing to be fair, just and humane. A weak man and a mediocre statesman, when confronted with great problems affecting the destinies of millions of human beings, is certain to lead the people to disaster. And that is where Lord Chelmsford has led—not India—but the British Empire.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.

The Indian Legislative Assembly has approved, by a majority of votes, the policy of the Government towards the Non-Co-operation movement which has been stated to be (1) to meet the legitimate demands of the people; (2) to make the Reforms a reality ; and (3) where there are disorders and excitement either direct or indirect to punish the non-co-operators. The debate which followed the speech of Sir William Vincent, who announced the Government's policy was, we regret to say, frivolous. No member of the Assembly displayed even a tenth of the eagerness to thrash the question as he showed when he fought for the appellation of "honourable" before his name. Popular representatives have equally thoroughly failed to notice all the implications contained in the words anouncing the Government's policy.

The first object of the Government has been stated to be to meet the "legitimate demands of the people." Is that so ? We call those things "demands of the people" which are asked by a majority of them or which are put forward by a leader as representing the majority of them. Nobody outside bedlam will question that the National Congress is the most representative body in India having millions of adherents in every part of this country. What are the demands of that supreme political body ? A modification of the Turkish Treaty, full reparation for the wrongs committed in the Punjab and the grant of Swaraj. In the matter of the Turkish Treaty, we shall grant that the Government of India has done its best to keep the Government at home fully informed of the feelings of the people here. This cannot be any substitute for the modification demanded but we accept the Government's statement and wish to emphasize that the whole correspondence on the subject must be published. What is the record of the Government in the matter of the Punjab tragedy ? Have any adequate punishments been meted out to those criminals whose offence is rank and smells to heaven ? Most of them still eat our salt.

The wishy-washy speech of Sir William Vincent on the motion of that newly discovered statesman, Mr. Jamnadas, over whose manuscript eloquence the Government members affected to have discovered many virtues, including the common one of adaptability to circumstances, will not satisfy India. The resolution as it was worded and passed cannot make us forget or forgive the authors and abettors of the most shameful tragedy in the civilised world. And what about the third demand of the National Congress *viz.*, the establishment of Swaraj ? Nationalists everywhere, long before the non-co-operators, have rejected the Reform Act as a piece of legislation which does not confer on the people a tithe of real power. Ministers and Secretaries, Presidents and Deputy Presidents and Executive Councillors galore—they divide among themselves a huge amount of the tax-payer's money. If the Ministers in power depend for their majority in Council upon their continued capacity to cajole the Governor, it is sheer nonsense to say that the Reform Act has conferred a boon and all that. Indeed, with the best men of India taking to non-co-operation, it has proved a boon to those toadies and mediocres whose ambitions for high offices are only equalled by their ability to bend their knees whenever His Excellency passes by. We have been studying closely the proceedings of the Legislative Councils which unfold the same doleful tale of defeated resolutions and disallowed resolutions. We are not conscious of having entered on a new era which, to be just, exists only in Mrs. Besant's brain.

Thus we have seen that in the three matters in which the demands of the people have been strong, insistent and unequivocal, the Government has not budged an inch. Was it not the duty of the members of the Legislative Assembly to raise this question ? If the Government was unable to give an answer, should they not have insisted on deleting such a misleading sentence which states that the policy of the Government is to meet "the legitimate demands ofthe people"? To ask for Swaraj in our own country and to demand the punishment of criminals do come, we suppose, under the category of legitimate demands. The way to hell is not the way to heaven. When the Non-Co-operators, who are now in a majority in the country, refuse to recognise the Reform Act, what kind of statesmanship is that which persists in making the Reforms a success? We could see no meeting place between the two parties

until the direction in which the Government is proceeding is changed.

Coming to the last item of the Government's policy we are amazed that the Government still cherishes the fond belief that it could intimidate a great movement into submission. The Government will soon initiate counter-propaganda and already in Madras, the leading Anglo-Indian paper has begun the work. The duty of the Indian leaders is plain. Every day of the Reformed Council story, supplies us with fresh evidences of the futility of the new reforms and the utterly farcical character of the new era. Would it not be in the interest of our country that the Nationalists and the Non-Co-operators should unite together sinking minor differences as to details? The policy of all lovers of India is to win for her swaraj within the shortest possible time. In such a task all can unite. In the face of the growing combination of the Government, the moderates and all and sundry, it is our duty to combine and strengthen our position. It is in that hope that we offer to co-operate with all Congress leaders realising that minor differences must, as far as possible, be kept in the background until victory is won.

Mrs. BESANT'S UNFAIRNESS.

Every one in India knows that Mrs. Besant opposes strongly the Non-Co-operation movement and that in her zeal to discredit it, she writes such bitter articles in her paper every day that no lover of India will tolerate. While Mrs. Besant's criticisms are always full of rancour, jealousy, bitterness, and misrepresentation, Mr. Gandhi, as befitting his character, never replies to them in his paper. He refers to Mrs. Besant or to any individual by name only when he wants to say something complimentary.

In Monday's *New India* Mrs. Besant, in the course of an article proving the failure of the Non-Co-operation movement observes that the Mahatma and his followers "were yet contemptuously allowed by that same Government to vapour as they pleased." This means, if words mean anything, that the liberty enjoyed by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers were due to the contemptuous tolerance by Government. In other words, Mrs. Besant implies that the Government would be right in punishing them but they have "contemptuously allowed" them to be free. This is a novel and extremely original doctrine of liberty enunciated by a person who boasts that she has been working for liberty for the past 50 years.

We do not find fault with Mrs. Besant for being opposed to Non-Co-operation but we have a right to expect from a person of her age, experience and knowledge of the world to be fair in her criticism of a movement which has the sympathy and support of many millions of people in this land. Mrs. Besant must know that she is amidst Indians. Mrs. Besant is the President of the Theosophical Society. We do not like that Society but if we say that our reason for not joining it is because that it is a Society of imposters and charlatans, would Mrs. Besant like the way of our putting it?

REVIEWS.

Labour in Madras By B. P. Wadia.

S. Ganesan & Co. Publishers, Triplicane, Madras.

Madras is the birthplace of the Indian Labour Movement. It was here that Trade Unions were first attempted to be started. This nicely printed book brings together the various efforts of those who were the pioneers in the cause of Labour, particularly of Mr. Wadia. Colonel Wedgwood has written an excellent foreword. This compilation must prove very useful to all politicians as well as to those who take interest in the cause of Indian Labour.

Non-Co-operation in other lands.—By A. Fenner Brockway.

Tagore and Co. Madras

This beautifully printed brochure is very instructive reading. It gives several instances of how small nations became free by adopting the policy of Non-Co-operation. The story of the struggle of the Hungarian leaders against the might of Austria is inspiring and must enthuse the Non-Co-operators in India; also the facts about the Egyptian, Korean and Irish struggles. It is rather premature we think to include Egypt and Ireland among the successful nations but still they reveal the dominant thought which has inspired the weaker nations in their struggles against the despotism of the powerful. We recommend this book to all Indians as it would be useful to them in their present struggle.

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We have received the first number of *To-morrow* a monthly journal edited by Mr. G. S. Arundale. The magazine has been influentially supported and is very interesting right through. It hopes to be non-political and is intented primarily for the benefit of the younger generation. We wish it success.

LOOKING AHEAD.

BY MR. K. R. RAMABHADRA SASTRY, B.A., (HONS.) M.R.A.S.

Sermonising has been very often cast aside as one of those irrealisable high ideas. But if the same sentiments were to be expressed through a chain of reasoning, they pass for strokes of statesmanship. Quite

Council has the habit of addressing the members as Hon'bles. Evidently Sir P. Rajagopalachariar notices no difference between the old Council and the new. The Hon. Mr. Habibullah moved that the Government be granted a sum not exceeding 216·64 lakhs under the head Land Revenue. Mr. S. Srinivasaayengar moved for the reduction of one lakh of the grant of Rs. 55,63,113 under charges of District Administration. After considerable discussion, the motion was carried, 45 voting for and 31 against. Mr. A. S. Krishna Row's motion for the reduction by 1·50 lakhs under Survey Establishment was carried 42, voting for and 15 against. Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju's motion for the reduction of 2·57 lakhs under Land Records was carried by 49 against 15. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar's motion to reduce the allotment under this head by 2·50 lakhs was carried by 51 against 22. Item No. 1 (Land Revenue) subject to the motions accepted by the Council was carried.

22nd March.—The Hon. Mr. Subbarayalu Reddiar moved for the sanction of a grant of 31·97 lakhs under the head of Excise. Mr. Ranganatha Mudaliar's motion for reduction of the sum by ·5 lakhs was carried. The Hon. Mr. Habibullah moved for a grant under stamps not exceeding 6·10 lakhs which was carried. The Hon. Sir Lionel Davidson moved for a grant not exceeding 51·11 lakhs for expenditure in the Forest Department. The motion of Mr. Biswanath Das to omit 2·16 lakhs under Forest for the Russelkonda Saw Mills scheme to be worked by Messrs. Parry & Co., was carried, 40 voting for and 34 against. The total demand of 51·11 lakhs subject to the reduction of 2·16 lakhs on account of the Russelkonda scheme was passed.

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MR. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR'S VIEWS.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, C. I. E. writes to the Press.

I shall thank you to announce that I have resigned my Presidentship of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. I owe a word of explanation for this step to all my friends and particularly to all social reformers. Till about four years ago, many of the leading men of one community, while they wrongly insisted upon the maintenance of the caste system in the social domain, rightly and completely ignored it in the political domain. Within the last four years, and particularly now, many of the leading members of the other and far larger community, while they rightly insist upon the elimination of caste in the social aspects of Indian life, erroneously and inconsistently insist upon perpetuating the caste barrier in the political life of the Province and indeed seek to erect the new political structure upon the basis of caste. The present conditions of public life obtaining in this Province are such that with my conviction that Nationalism, as opposed to "Communalism," can be the only basis of all public life, I feel that I can do little work in the field of social reform whether as President or as member of the Social Reform Association. I cannot have one view for politics, and another for social reform. I feel the parting as a great wrench, but there is no other alternative. I must be free to speak and to act according to my lights.

SPINNING WHEEL—THE PROP.

But the fact is, our education should not be financed out of the excise revenue, neither out of land revenue Under Swaraj its main prop should be the spinning wheel. If the spinning wheel and the loom are introduced in every school and colleges, our education would easily pay its way. To-day, I would like our boys to give all their time to spinning. After Swaraj is attained, at least one hour will have to be given. Swaraj must react in each and every department of our life. Our schools to-day are so many factories to turn out slaves from. Education under Swaraj will aim at making boys self—supporting from their youth. Any other profession may be taught them, but spinning will be compulsory. The spinning wheel ought to be the solace of the miserable. Nothing else has its virtues, for it alone can supplement agriculture. All cannot be carpenters, nor smiths but all be spinners, and must spin either for their country or to supplement their own earnings. Because the need of clothing is universal, the spinning wheel must needs be universal.

Let us have spinning introduced from now as a necessary adjunct to literary education, so that under *Swaraj* we may not have to fight over this question anew.—M. K. Gandhi in *Navajivan*.

LORD READING'S OPPORTUNITY.

Now what is the problem that confronts him in India? To put in it a nutshell the problem before him, is how to reconcile the existence of the British Government in India with the growing desire of Indians to be free. Lord Reading must take note of the fact that India has covered the path of half a century within the last four years. There was a time when British statesmen would have converted India into a peaceful, contented, self-govering nation by leading it to the path of Self-Government. But those golden opportunities were wasted and the bankruptcy of British statemanship was proclaimed to the world. The great War afforded another great opporiunity but even then all the boasted theories of Self-determination, freedom and liberty proved to be the hollow talk of politicians to dupe the simpletons. It was thought that the new age of Self-determination' would spell once for all the destruction of autocracy and despotism on the one hand and slavery and dependence on the other. But it all proved to be a dream. It was a case of

"Two men looked out through prison bars.
The one saw mud, the other stars. "—*The Mahratta*.

Indian and Provincial Legislatures.

The Indian and Provincial legislatures having become enlarged, there are far more speeches made, resolutions moved, and questions asked there than ever before. We have not been able to read even a tithe of this enormous mass of literature. But this much we have been able to gather that in matters of detail, like cutting down this item of expenditure or that, the non-official members have been more successful than before. And to that extent we appreciate their labours. But in one respect, the new Indian and provincial legislatures (in the case of the latter we speak with particular reference to Bengal,) seem to suffer by comparison with their predecessors. There is no outstanding leadership perceptible, no concerted plan of work of the non-official members, no organised opposition on their part.

In spite of small gains, we continue to think that the Reforms cannot lead us to real freedom and independence. They make us depend on the good graces, first, of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, secondly, of the British bureaucracy, thirdly, of the British Parliament, and lastly, of the British people. *The Modern Review*.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

What the bulk of India wants is a system of Government in which a large proportion of the people must have their say regarding every measure touching their country. If the Government should belittle the importance of this voice of the masses it would be making the greatest of political blunders revolting to concentious statesmanship. As has been truly said, the men whose names appear in the newspapers or who chatter like magpies on platforms, in season and out of season do not make up a nation. The nation consists of those millions that toil, who are inconspicuous and who do not boast. It is this nation that in India to-day speaks out in a clear voice that it does not like the Government because, the latter is not sincere. For the same reason it does not like the Government's nominees that lie basking under the sunshine of the bureaucracy, hugging the phantom of hope that they are the accredited representatives of the people. For the same reason the hopes that rested on men of Mr. Sastri's stamp have been shattered.—*The Rangoon Mail*.

INDIA'S POWER.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writes :—The true way of self-defence is to rouse our inherent powers. The policy of protection by imitation of the conqueror is a self-delusion which will not serve, either,—the imitation cannot prevail against the reality. I repeat, therefore, that the only way to stem the tide of waste of heart and taste and intellect is, to become our true selves,

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I shall thank you to announce that I have resigned my Presidentship of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. I owe a word of explanation for this step to all my friends and particularly to all social reformers. Till about four years ago, many of the leading men of one community, while they wrongly insisted upon the maintenance of the caste system in the social domain, rightly and completely ignored it in the political domain. Within the last four years, and particularly now, many of the leading members of the other and far larger community, while they rightly insist upon the elimination of caste in the social aspects of Indian life, erroneously and inconsistently insist upon perpetuating the caste barrier in the political life of the Province and indeed seek to erect the new political structure upon the basis of caste. The present conditions of public life obtaining in this Province are such that with my conviction that Nationalism, as opposed to "Communalism," can be the only basis of all public life, I feel that I can do little work in the field of social reform whether as President or as member of the Social Reform Association. I cannot have one view for politics, and another for social reform. I feel the parting as a great wrench, but there is no other alternative. I must be free to speak and to act according to my lights.

SPINNING WHEEL—THE PROP.

But the fact is, our education should not be financed out of the excise revenue, neither out of land revenue Under Swaraj its main prop should be the spinning wheel. If the spinning wheel and the loom are introduced in every school and colleges, our education would easily pay its way. To-day, I would like our boys to give all their time to spinning. After Swaraj is attained, at least one hour will have to be given. Swaraj must react in each and every department of our life. Our schools to-day are so many factories to turn out slaves from. Education under Swaraj will aim at making boys self—supporting from their youth. Any other profession may be taught them, but spinning will be compulsory. The spinning wheel ought to be the solace of the miserable. Nothing else has its virtues, for it alone can supplement agriculture. All cannot be carpenters, nor smiths but all be spinners, and must spin either for their country or to supplement their own earnings. Because the need of clothing is universal, the spinning wheel must needs be universal.

Let us have spinning introduced from now as a necessary adjunct to literary education, so that under *Swaraj* we may not have to fight over this question anew.—M, K. Gandhi in *Navajivan*.

LORD READING'S OPPORTUNITY.

Now what is the problem that confronts him in India ? To put in it a nutshell the problem before him, is how to reconcile the existence of the British Government in India with the growing desire of Indians to be free. Lord Reading must take note of the fact that India has covered the path of half a century within the last four years. There was a time when British statesmen would have converted India into a peaceful, contented, self-govering nation by leading it to the path of Self-Government. But those golden opportunities were wasted and the bankruptcy of British statemanship was proclaimed to the world. The great War afforded another great opporiunity but even then all the boasted theories of Self-determination, freedom and liberty proved to be the hollow talk of politicians to dupe the simpletons. It was thought that the new age of Self-determination' would spell once for all the destruction of autocracy and despotism on the one hand and slavery and dependence on the other. But it all proved to be a dream. It was a case of

"Two men looked out through prison bars.
The one saw mud, the other stars. "—*The Mahratta.*

Indian and Provincial Legislatures.

The Indian and Provincial legislatures having become enlarged, there are far more speeches made, resolutions moved, and questions asked there than ever before. We have not been able to read even a tithe of this enormous mass of literature. But this much we have been able to gather that in matters of detail, like cutting down this item of expenditure or that, the non-official members have been more successful than before. And to that extent we appreciate their labours. But in one respect, the new Indian and provincial legislatures (in the case of the latter we speak with particular reference to Bengal,) seem to suffer by comparison with their predecessors. There is no outstanding leadership perceptible, no concerted plan of work of the non-official members, no organised opposition on their part.

In spite of small gains, we continue to think that the Reforms cannot lead us to real freedom and independence. They make us depend on the good graces, first, of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, secondly, of the British bureaucracy, thirdly, of the British Parliament, and lastly, of the British people. *The Modern Review.*

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

What the bulk of India wants is a system of Government in which a large proportion of the people must have their say regarding every measure touching their country. If the Government should belittle the importance of this voice of the masses it would be making the greatest of political blunders revolting to concentious statesmanship. As has been truly said, the men whose names appear in the newspapers or who chatter like magpies on platforms, in season and out of season do not make up a nation. The nation consists of those millions that toil, who are inconspicuous and who do not boast. It is this nation that in India to-day speaks out in a clear voice that it does not like the Government because, the latter is not sincere. For the same reason it does not like the Government's nominees that lie basking under the sunshine of the bureaucracy, hugging the phantom of hope that they are the accredited representatives of the people. For the same reason the hopes that rested on men of Mr. Sastri's stamp have been shattered.—*The Rangoon Mail.*

INDIA'S POWER.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore writes :—The true way of self-defence is to rouse our inherent powers. The policy of protection by imitation of the conqueror is a self-delusion which will not serve, either,—the imitation cannot prevail against the reality. I repeat, therefore, that the only way to stem the tide of waste of heart and taste and intellect is, to become our true selves,

consciously, actively and with our full strength. Our dormant *Shakti* must awake at the impact of the outside, for to-day the world stands sorely in need of the priceless fruits of the discipline of our ancient Rishis. God will not allow these to go to waste. That is why, in the fulness of time, He has roused us by this agony of suffering.

The realisation of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety,—that is the inherent, the *Sanatan* Dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none; she abjures no methods, recognises the greatness of all ideals; and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony.

By reason of this genius of India, Hindu, Moslem and Christian need not fight here for supremacy, but will find common ground under shelter of her hospitality. That common ground will not be un-Hindu, it will be more especially Hindu. And however foreign the several limbs may be, the heart will still be the heart of India.

If we but realise this God-given function of India, our aim will become true, our shame will depart from us, and we shall revive the undying *shakti* of India. Before that great day comes, call once on the Mother? The One Mother who, through the ages, has been nourishing her children from her eternal store of wisdom and truth, preserving them from destruction, drawing them nearer once another, and to Herself.

We had once learnt to despise riches, to make poverty beautiful and glorious. Shall we to-day insult our Sanatan Dharma by falling prostrate before money? Shall we not once more be fit to serve our Mother, to build anew her fallen house, by taking up a clean, disciplined, simple life? It was never reckoned a shame in our country to eat off plantain leaves—the shame was in eating by oneself alone. Shall we not get back this sense of shame? Shall we not be able to forego some of our comforts, some of our luxuries, so that we may have enough to serve to all our brethren? Will that which was once so easy for us become impossible to-day? Never.

Even in her uttermost extremity India's tremendous power has secretly and calmly regained victory for herself. I know for certain that this school-taught obsession of ours will never be able to prevail over that imperishable power. I know for certain that the deep note of India's call has already found a response in our hearts, and that, unknown to ourselves, we are slowly but surely going back to her. Here, standing at the crossing of the ways, with face turned towards Home, and eyes fixed on the pure light of its sacred lamp, call once on the Mother?—*The Modern Review.*

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